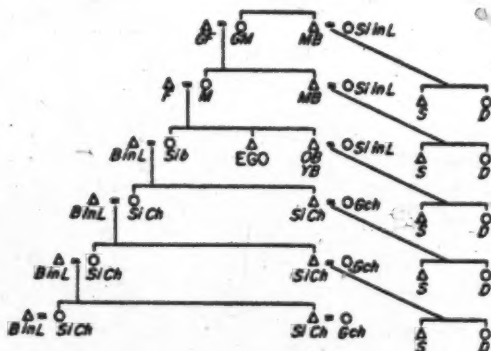




Pedigree chart showing the inheritance of the ABO blood group across four generations. The chart includes symbols for males (squares) and females (circles), with blood types indicated by letters (A, B, AB, O) and subscripts (1, 2). The pedigree shows a family with a history of blood transfusions, with some individuals marked as 'ON' (on transfusion) and others as 'OFF' (off transfusion). The chart is labeled 'Pedigree chart' and 'ABO blood group'.

FIG. 10.—Father's lineage. Ego = male

relatives by marriage, and there is no direct term of address. In female ego's mother's lineage, women marrying into the lineage who are of the same generation or above are "sisters-in-law," a term also used by a female to designate her "husband's sister." A man's wife's brother is placed in the same class as his sister's husband. Men of the father's father's clan are called "grandfather," and all the women of the clan are called "grandmother" by both men and women. The latter lineage is not es-

604 brother. The Mandan divide a child's kin into two groups and give each a part in the rearing of the child. It was the mother's relatives' duty to provide for the child's physical needs and give instruction in household and tribal lore. While this was being done, the father's sister in the performance of her part in the child's father's ceremonies protected him from misfortune. If the child died or was killed in warfare, it became her duty to see that his spirit returned to the spirit home. She supervised washing and painting the deceased and with the assistance of her brothers removed the body to the scaffold, where she recited the rite which returned the spirit to the "home of the dead."

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604 The father's sister was eligible to receive gifts during ceremonies and to pray for the success of her "son" or "daughter."
601 The father's sister's household was a possible home for her brother's children if their mother died, leaving no female relatives to care for them. There is no "teasing" relation with the father's sister. While a person has many "father's sisters," since all females of the father's clan were called "father's sisters," the closest ones were the actual sisters of the father who were brought up in the father's household. Her position in terminology and behavior was intermediate to the grandmother and mother, since she addressed her brother's children as "sons" and "daughters," while they, in turn, addressed her husband as "grandfather."

606 ● *Father-in-law-daughter-in-law (tata'xis-ptawi'hqE).*—This was a "grandfather-grandchild" relationship. He treated her with all the tenderness shown his own blood grandchildren when other people were present. She respected him as the father of her husband and the owner of important ceremonial rites which would eventually become her husband's. If they were of different clans, her husband might ask her to "walk" with the "grandfather" during one of the buffalo-calling ceremonies. Ceremonial "sexual intercourse" was permitted at that time providing she was not living in her husband's household.

603 *Mother-in-law-daughter-in-law (maxis'-ptawi'hqE).*—This was a "grandmother-grandchild" relationship. A household having no daughters paid a daughter-in-law to live in the husband's lodge, and, upon the death of the mother-in-law, she in-

herited the lodge property and gardens belonging to the household through a grandmother-granddaughter relationship. This was considered proper when no females of the mother-in-law's clan signified an intention of living in the lodge and caring for the old people. A daughter-in-law was treated kindly by her mother-in-law, who instructed her as her own mother would.

Father-in-law-son-in-law (*kota'waratox'kas-no'haka*; *ptuts'-ptuts'*).—*Kota'waratox'kas* is morphologically related to the word for mother's brother and means "his old mother's brother." When a young man married into the household and came to his wife's lodge to live, he frequently was in a dual relationship to the father-in-law; he was the husband of his father-in-law's daughter; also his father-in-law was a mother's brother by the clan extension of kinship, and was treated as a mother's brother.² The son-in-law was expected to be brave and industrious. He was at first addressed as a young person (*no'haka*). When the marriage had lasted a few years, during which time children had come, and the father-in-law and the son-in-law got along well together, a mutual interest led to familiarity and each addressed the other *ptutE*. In the Mandan system of preferred marriages with the daughter's parents selecting her mate and desiring to keep certain clan bundles in the household, the prospective father-in-law selected a young man of his own clan for his daughter's husband. It was not proper for a son-in-law to tease his father-in-law; he was expected to treat his father-in-law with the same respect as he showed his own mother's brother and to take over the hunting activities when the father-in-law became feeble.

Mother-in-law-son-in-law (*ptu'hinikE-nohaka* or *ptuts'*).—The word *ptuhiniks'* for mother-in-law is morphologically related to the word *ptuminiks* ("father's sister"), and informants explained that the mother-in-law was a special "father's sister." When the son-in-law first came to the lodge to live, he was avoided by the mother-in-law and never addressed her directly. When speaking of him, the mother-in-law would use the term *nohaka*, meaning a "young person" or "young one." When a young man's ties were weak with his own household, because he

2. Scattercorn thought *kota'waratox'kas* was never used when the father-in-law was of a different clan.

- 606 had no sisters, and his own household was run by his brother's
601 wives, he would often establish a new bond with the people of his wife's household by bringing his mother-in-law a scalp. When returning from a successful war expedition, he would go directly to his wife's lodge instead of to his sister's, which was the usual practice, and give the scalp to the oldest mother-in-law in the lodge. Usually there were a number of females in the lodge who were treated as "mother-in-law." In this group would be those whom the wife addressed as "mother," "grandmother," or "father's sister." The oldest mother-in-law took the scalp, sang the victory songs, and danced toward each woman who was treated as a mother-in-law. When the scalp dance was performed on the succeeding day, she danced while carrying the scalp and singing her new "son's" praises. She then treated him as a son but usually addressed him as *ptutE*, which was the same term as employed by her husband, while the son-in-law treated her as he would his own mother but addressed her as *ptuhinikE*. He could also break the taboo by bringing her a horse instead of taking it to his parental lodge. Then the mother-in-law would lead it through the village during the scalp dance. He could then interfere in a quarrel between a group of women which included his mothers-in-law.

- 607 Sibling-in-law-sibling-in-law (*mo'waki-mo'waki*).—Ego addressed his wife's brother and his own sister's husband as brothers-in-law, and they in turn called ego brother-in-law when addressing him. When the mother's lineage is arranged in a chart (see Fig. 5), it will be seen that a "brother-in-law" is one married to females of ego's lineage who are of the same generation or younger. This relationship is extended to include male ego's mother's sister's daughter's, and the father's brother's daughter's, husband, and husbands of their female descendants. There was a good deal of rivalry between brothers-in-law, and they were expected to joke with each other in public. However, if an older sister was rearing and caring for a young brother whose parents had died and was herself the titular head of the lineage in the lodge, her husband would treat his brother-in-law as a "son," and the same bonds of affection existed between them as between father and son.

- 607 Sibling-in-law-sibling-in-law (*ptus-ptus*).—A woman ad-
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1 [See p. 38, Category 116 -- Analyst]

831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of
sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with
stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and
the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's
house and tied them there. Then the father took the same num-
ber of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door.
After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the
young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the
young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife.
The young people either built a new home or lived with one of
their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right
of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the
girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored
601 by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The
606 father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
551 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle.
Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-
law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had
come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was
usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by
the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in
a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara.
While there are a number of deities, there was one among them
to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator
of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the
Lord of Life.¹ Next after him came the First Man to whom
the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of
mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved
from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the
Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him.
Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below
the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Taiuhanka

¹ Maximilian: p. 419.

582 Regarding cross-cousin marriage, Two-chiefs said that it was permissible for a man to marry the daughter of a mother's clansman but not the daughter of a mother's own brother. On the other hand, Turtle-woman declared that it was proper for a girl to marry her father's sister's son, and my Hidatsa interpreter explained that this was a point in which Mandan and Hidatsa practices diverged.

606 Not only the wife's mother but also the mother-in-law's sisters and mother avoided the husband.

THE MANDANS—ERRONEOUS OPINIONS OF VOLNEY AND OTHERS.

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mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaris, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaris.

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

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The first process of slow modification has not affected the Crow kinship terminology and associated behavior in Lone Hill, but it has changed other aspects of social life in the village. There are many changes in content. A man recently modified the strict mother-in-law respect relation, not by the aboriginal practice of giving his mother-in-law a scalp, but by presenting her with an imitation war bonnet purchased from a mail order house. Innumerable other examples could be cited in which known changes in cultural content have not precipitated changes in the established social structure (cf. Gough 1952:85). An extreme illustration of this is provided by the previously mentioned case of English kinship terminology being used in the Crow kinship pattern. There are, however, many structural changes: the destruction of the native ceremonial life has decreased the religious importance of the father's lineage, the moieties are almost inoperative, the clans have diminished in importance, there is a general laxity among the youth in meeting certain kinship obligations, village organization has shifted from a close-knit unit to one of widely separated households, the matrilineal extended family is no longer a residence unit, and the lineage has ceased to be a corporate group. The only change in the Crow terminology is that vocative terms are rarely used except on public and community-wide occasions. The important point is that the gradual modification of the social structure has not proceeded far enough in Lone Hill to cause an internal shift in kinship type.

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The significance of the second process of radical change in Lone Hill may be seen in broader perspective by examining the kind of acculturation now taking place among the Mandan-Hidatsa (Bruner 1953). In every acculturated family that uses the American generational system there has been an Indian-white intermarriage within three ascending generations. Individuals in these families make an abrupt and almost total conversion to white ways, while the rest of the people in the village continue to live by more traditional Indian standards. In the families in which there has been a mixed marriage, the entire white system comes across in the socialization process. Among the Southeastern tribes the shifts in kinship terminology were the result of adaptive responses to changing conditions (Spoehr 1947:225). The presence of the white generational system in Lone Hill is due to neither cultural "borrowing," adult learning, nor rearrangements in the social structure precipitated by new conditions. Individuals in Lone Hill learn the American kinship system in the English language within the intimate domestic family situation. Although no single factor is ever sufficient to explain a highly complex acculturation situation, it would seem that these differences in the mechanisms of change may account for the differences in kinship patterns found among the Southeastern tribes and the Mandan-Hidatsa. (In a future paper, I shall document and describe the process of individual conversion to white ways in greater detail.)

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The converted Indian embraces a new way of life and comes to internalize a set of goals and values which are incongruent with the Crow lineage system. The kinship ties and obligations of the Crow system incorporate and reaffirm